

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 OMB-01 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 XMB-02

/080 W

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R 241506Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2276

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMCONSUL LUANDA

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

AMEMBASSY KIGALI

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

COMMANDANT NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 3436

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: US CG PFOR SF AO

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BULA

1. IN HOUR AND QUARTER DISJOINTED CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BULA MANDUNGU LATE APRIL 23 HE TALKED INTER ALIA OF IMPORTANCE US HELP IN ANGOLA AND GAVE ME REALISTIC ACCOUNT OF DAR DECISIONS AND HOW THEY WOULD WORK. HE ALSO PROMISED FOR THIRD TIME TO TAKE CARE OF NWC VISIT. FOLLOWING IS NOT LITERAL, DESPITE QUOTES, BUT SHOULD GIVE FLAVOR OF MAIN POINTS.

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2. ANGOLA: BULA SAID WE KNEW, DIDN'T WE, THAT SOVIET ARMS WERE GOING TO NETO. I SAID YES, WE KNEW THAT. HE WANTED TO KNOW WHAT WE WERE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT. I SAID THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE TO URGE THE THREE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO WORK TOGETHER. "AND IF THEY DON'T?" HE ASKED. I REPLIED, "I SUSPECT WE WOULD KEEP TRYING. EVEN THOUGH WE WOULD NOT LIKE TO SEE EITHER CIVIL WAR OR A HOSTILE REGIME IN ANGOLA, WE DO NOT WANT TO INTERVENE IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS OR TO PICK SIDES AMONG THREE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS." "OK, BUT IF YOU DON'T WANT TO BE SEEN AS SUPPORTING ONE LIBERATION MOVEMENT, WHY NOT HELP ZAIRE? WE'LL SEE TO IT THAT THERE IS NO HOSTILE REGIME IN ANGOLA." "THAT," I SAID, RAISES ANOTHER SERIES OF QUESTIONS."

3. DAR ES SALAAM DECISION: I SAID I HAD SEEN VARIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DAR DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS AND WOULD BE INTERESTED IN KNOWING HIS VIEW. HE SAID IT PERFECTLY CLEAR. ONLY LIBERATION GROUPS ARE AUTHORIZED TO DEAL WITH THE RACIST REGIMES IN SOUTH AFRICA, ZIMBABWE, AND NAMIBIA. NO SINGLE STATE SHOULD HAVE DISCUSSIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICANS. DID THAT MEAN KAUNDA WOULD BE OUT OF ORDER IN PURSUING HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH VORSTER? BULA REPLIED THAT KAUNDA WAS PRESIDENT OF A SOVEREIGN STATE AND COULD DO WHAT HE PLEASED. ZAIRE WOULD NOT PRESUME TO JUDGE ACTIONS OF OTHER AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE. DID THIS MEAN, I ASKED, THAT ZAIRE COULD DEAL WITH SOUTH AFRICA, FOR EXAMPLE, ABOUT NAMIBIA. "CERTAINLY NOT," HE SAID. "WE RESPECT THE OAU DECISIONS." "HOW ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF ZAIRIAN TALKS WITH SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES ABOUT TRADE AND FINANCE?" "NOT A CHANCE," SAID BULA. (WE HAVE NUMEROUS REPORTS THAT SUCH TALKS HAVE RECENTLY TAKEN PLACE BUT WE HAVE NO CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE.) I THEN ASKED WHAT WAS SIGNIFICANCE OF AFRICAN UNITY IF EVERY SOVEREIGN STATE WERE FREE TO DISREGARD OAU RESOLUTIONS. HE REPLIED IT WAS A PROCESS. OAU RESOLUTION EXISTED, BUT SOVEREIGN STATES COULD EXERCISE THEIR SOVEREIGNTY. HOWEVER, OAU COMMITTEE WOULD REVIEW COMPLIANCE WITH DAR DECISIONS PRIOR TO KAMPALA OAU SUMMIT, AND THOSE WHO HAD STRAYED FROM THE PATH WOULD HAVE TO EXPLAIN THEMSELVES. WHAT WOULD THIS ACCOMPLISH?  
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WELL, THE CHIEFS OF STATE WOULD WORK OUT "AN ARRANGEMENT" AT KAMPALA. THERE WOULD BE NO CONSENSUS, MUCH LESS REAL AGREEMENT, BUT THERE WOULD BE "ARRANGEMENT." AFRICAN LEADERS WERE MOVING TOWARD UNITY AND WOULD NOT PERMIT DIFFERENCES OF VIEW TO BE PUBLICLY DISPLAYED.

4. NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE: BULA AGAIN ASSURED ME THAT EVERYTHING WOULD GO WELL FOR NWC VISIT. SO I TOLD HIM

WHAT WAS NOT GOING WELL, E.G., NO ARRANGEMENTS WITH GOZ AT ALL, FAILURE OF INDIVIDUALS TO RESPOND TO TELEPHONE CALLS, FAILURE OF FOREIGN MINISTRY TO ANSWER NOTES, NO AUTHORITY TO VISIT GECAMINES FACILITIES IN SHABA, ETC. HE SAID, "PAS DE PROBLEME. WE'LL WORK IT ALL OUT." I SAID, GREAT, AND SUGGESTED THAT HE DO FOREIGN POLICY BRIEFING HIMSELF. HE SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO BUT HE WOULD BE AT BURUNDI-RWANDA-ZAIRE TRIPARTITE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING ON THE 29TH.

5. ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA: BULA SAID WE WERE SUPPLYING, AND I SAID WE WEREN'T. HE CITED C-130 AND HELICOPTERS. I SAID THOSE WERE NOT ARMS. HE SAID THEY CARRIED ARMED MEN, ETC., ETC.  
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## Message Attributes

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